UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
16th meeting
held on
Thursday, 12 November 1992
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 16th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. KHOUINI	(Tunisia)
later:	Mr. ALSAIDI (Vice-Chairman)	(Yemen)
later:	Mr. KHOUINI	(Tunisia)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 75: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

92-57704 6363S (E)

Distr. GENERAL
A/SPC/47/SR.16
27 November 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/SPC/47/L.7 and L.8, A/47/253, A/47/386, A/47/597 and A/47/604)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that Bolivia, Niger and Peru had become sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

2. Mr. MALONE (Canada), introducing the draft resolution entitled "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects", contained in document A/SPC/47/L.7, said that United Nations peace-keeping activities had expanded tremendously over the past year. Not only had the number of operations increased, in countries such as Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Mozambique, but the functions of peace-keeping missions now included military, political, humanitarian, economic and social goals.

3. Overall, peace-keeping forces had grown from the approximately 11,500 military and police personnel deployed at the beginning of 1991 to the over 55,000 anticipated at the end of 1992. Despite that rapid expansion, the financial foundation for peace-keeping remained insecure, and that was giving rise to concern among many Member States over the Organization's ability to meet increasing demands for activities related to peace-keeping.

4. Draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.7 was based on previous resolutions on peace-keeping adopted by the General Assembly, the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253 and A/47/386) and informal consultations recently conducted by the sponsors with interested States.

5. In the preambular section, reference was made not only to the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), but also to the analysis and consideration of the question by the General Assembly and the statement on the subject issued by the President of the Security Council on 29 October 1992 (S/24728). The definition of peacemaking had been updated to correspond with that given in "An Agenda for Peace", and a reference had been added to the need for better management of peace-keeping resources.

6. The resolution was divided into four sections: resources, finances, organization and effectiveness, and development of peace-keeping. There was also a concluding section regarding the future work and methods of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

7. In the section on resources, Member States were encouraged to advise the Secretary-General what forces they were willing to provide to the United Nations on short notice. In the section on finances, the draft resolution reiterated the need to maintain the accepted principles and guidelines on the financing of peace-keeping operations, recognized the need for an enhanced peace-keeping staff in the Secretariat, and asked the Secretary-General to report on ways of effecting that enhancement.

(Mr. Malone, Canada)

8. The section on organization and effectiveness included a reference to the establishment by the General Assembly of an open-ended working group on "An Agenda for Peace", and the concluding section encouraged the Special Committee to consider holding an intersessional meeting as soon as possible to discuss that report.

9. The sponsors were aware that the resolution was a lengthy one and had made efforts to delete, condense or amalgamate certain paragraphs. The resolution was a clear reflection of the increasing interest of Member States in peace-keeping activities.

10. Mr. Alsaidi (Yemen), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

11. The CHAIRMAN announced that Croatia had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

12. Mr. BUTLER (Australia) said that the collapse of the bipolar structure which had underpinned international relations since the establishment of the United Nations had fundamentally changed the international political environment and brought with it greater challenges to the United Nations.

13. The number of military personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations had quadrupled over the past 12 months, and would soon exceed 50,000. The number of civilian personnel deployed in such operations had also increased dramatically. Over one third of the Members of the United Nations were contributing personnel to the 12 current peace-keeping operations. Peace-keeping missions had also become more complex, as they now covered such diverse tasks as the protection of human rights, the organization and conduct of elections, the demobilization of forces, the repatriation of refugees and the rehabilitation of infrastructure.

14. With regard to the financing of such operations, he said it was worrying that, in some cases, some countries were now bearing their own costs for aspects of the United Nations operation in the Balkans. It was also worrying that the United Nations had experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining sufficient contributors for the expansion of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM).

15. Australia's contribution to United Nations peace-keeping activities, both in financial and personnel terms, had increased dramatically over the past year. It was currently involved in six peace-keeping operations; in addition, Australian defence force personnel were deployed on United Nations humanitarian operations. Australia's current participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations represented the largest overseas deployment of Australian troops in the past 20 years.

16. Australia regarded the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111) as extremely important. It noted, however, that many of the recommendations contained therein had been made previously by the Special

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. It was therefore important to implement those recommendations as soon as possible rather than to wait until a decision had been made on all the report's recommendations. The Special Committee could make a considerable contribution to the consideration of the report, particularly in the area of peace-keeping and related activities, and Australia therefore recommended that consideration should be given to the possibility of holding an intersessional meeting early in 1993 to consider the report further.

17. His delegation supported the proposals of the President of the Security Council concerning the establishment of stand-by forces, the augmentation of the Secretariat staff dealing with peace-keeping, and the establishment of an enhanced peace-keeping planning staff in the Secretariat. It also strongly supported the draft resolution to be introduced by the Ukrainian representative (A/SPC/47/L.8).

18. His delegation welcomed the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, but was convinced that it lacked sufficient resources to plan new peace-keeping missions effectively or to manage and coordinate existing ones. Although it was necessary to augment those areas of the Secretariat dealing with peace-keeping, that should be done only when the role and tasks of the new Department had been clearly identified. In that connection, the sections of the Field Operations Division whose task it was to support peace-keeping operations should be placed under the Department.

19. Australia had long supported the establishment of a reserve fund on which the Secretary-General could draw for resources to get peace-keeping operations under way without delay. The Secretary-General had asked for $50 million to be allocated to the Fund. His delegation believed that that amount was not sufficient to provide for current needs. At least $150 million should be allocated to the Fund.

20. His Government supported the innovative proposal put forward by the Japanese delegation in the Fifth Committee for a peace-keeping start-up fund within the Working Capital Fund, financed from surplus contributions. That proposal should be considered in the very near future.

21. During the meetings of the Special Committee's open-ended working group in May, Canada had proposed that a document should be drafted outlining a United Nations logistics concept and the related procedures. The lack of an agreed logistics doctrine was one of the major impediments to more effective logistics planning and his delegation therefore recommended that the Secretariat should initiate the project as a matter of urgency.

22. In conclusion, his delegation supported the proposal that the Secretary-General should examine the feasibility of establishing a system of peace-keeping fellowships and recommended that funds from the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the United Nations Peace-keeping Forces should be used for that purpose.

23. Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukraine), introducing draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, entitled "Protection of peace-keeping personnel", announced that the delegations of Belarus, Colombia, Croatia, El Salvador, India, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Philippines and the United States of America had joined the original sponsors. The draft resolution had been prompted by the alarming situation with regard to the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel and the Organization's duty to voice its deep concern about the growing number of fatalities and injuries occurring during peace-keeping operations.

24. He then read out the draft resolution and announced that, as a result of consultations and with a view to obtaining the maximum possible support for the draft resolution, the sponsors had introduced two minor amendments: in paragraph 7, the word "new" should be inserted before "peace-keeping operation", and in paragraph 8, the words "the Force Commander and the Secretariat" should be replaced by "the Secretary-General". He emphasized that the draft resolution was not intended to raise any controversial issues but was prompted by purely humanitarian concerns. The sponsors therefore appealed to all delegations to look at it from that standpoint and to adopt it by consensus.

25. Mr. ZEGHIB (Algeria) said that the concept of peace-keeping operations did not exist in the United Nations Charter: the idea of establishing operations of that kind had arisen precisely because the machinery provided for in the Charter could not be used on account of the cold war. Since the Security Council had been unable to reach agreement, it had been the General Assembly which had initiated such operations. However, with the end of the cold war, the Security Council had been able to resort on two occasions to Chapter VII of the Charter and at the same time peace-keeping operations had multiplied, which might seem contradictory.

26. While bearing in mind the need for flexibility and the special nature of each peace-keeping operation, it would be wise to establish general criteria for such operations and to define the function of each of the participants: the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the General Assembly, the parties concerned and the Member States. In his report, the Secretary-General put forward various proposals regarding the possibility of using peace-keeping operations as part of preventive diplomacy. Article 1 of the Charter explicitly established the preventive function of the United Nations and Article 99 gave the Secretary-General special powers in that connection. At the same time, United Nations preventive measures should take advantage of the opportunities offered by the regional organizations, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The possibilities offered by those Articles should be studied further.

27. As far as the feasibility of dispatching peace-keeping missions of a preventive character was concerned, the issue seemed to raise more problems than it solved, for example, which authority should define a possible conflict, the criteria for defining such a conflict, the acceptance of the parties, and so on. The dispatch of preventive missions could be very costly, particularly bearing in mind that their duration could not be foreseen. In

(Mr. Zeghib, Algeria)

that connection, a time-limit might be set in advance, in addition to the specific objectives.

28. So far as the financing of peace-keeping operations was concerned, all Member States should meet their financial commitments, although in view of their political and economic circumstances, it was not desirable to change the current system for calculating contributions. It was necessary once again to underscore that the specific responsibilities of the permanent members of the Security Council entailed proportional financial commitments; moreover, it was vital to take into account the payment capacities of the rich countries in comparison with those of the third world.

29. As a troop contributor, Algeria had had to face certain problems as a result of the insufficient personnel allocated for the start-up of operations. In that regard, Algeria hoped that future reports of the Secretary-General would devote more attention to some of the structural and administrative problems.

30. Mr. MURTAZA (Pakistan) emphasized the importance of peace-keeping operations in the maintenance of international peace and security. Over the years, peace-keeping had evolved and acquired new dimensions such as election monitoring and humanitarian assistance.

31. Pakistan was benefiting from one such operation, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), and was grateful to the troop-contributing countries for their participation in that operation and to the personnel of UNMOGIP for its dedication. Furthermore, Pakistan was increasingly involved in other operations. Approximately 2,000 Pakistanis, including military observers, troops and civilian police monitors were participating in the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM).

32. With regard to the report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace", Pakistan would take part in a constructive debate within the open-ended working group of the General Assembly and in the future sessions of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations. In his report, the Secretary-General had highlighted the need for parties to cooperate in the implementation of the mandate of peace-keeping operations. No State could use the argument of consent as a pretext to undermine the mandate of a peace-keeping operation established by the Security Council, particularly when the area in question was under dispute or foreign occupation. In such situations, the consent of the occupying authority could not be made a precondition to the establishment or continuation of an operation by United Nations forces.

33. Nor could parties be permitted unilaterally to alter or dilute the mandate of a peace-keeping operation. It was important that the mandate, character and duration of a peace-keeping operation established by the

(Mr. Murtaza, Pakistan)

Security Council could not be changed without an express decision by the Council. Peace-keeping operations were not an end in themselves, but an essential ingredient of the process of conflict resolution. Accordingly, it was essential that operations established to maintain peace remained in place while negotiations were in progress and until the problem was resolved; emphasis should be placed on resolving the problem rather than on imposing any specific time-limit on peace-keeping measures.

34. Equally essential for peace-keeping operations were the availability of personnel as well as adequate resources, and in that connection his delegation was pleased to note the recommendation, contained in section I, paragraph 9, of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.7, encouraging Member States to inform the Secretary-General of their willingness to provide forces or capabilities for peace-keeping operations. Pakistan, for its part, offered to designate specific units for such operations.

35. With regard to financing, it was essential that all Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. It was also necessary to take into account the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council, as well as certain economic considerations. His delegation agreed to the establishment of a reserve fund for that purpose.

36. Improved coordination between the different offices of the United Nations Secretariat dealing with peace-keeping operations was necessary, as well as between those offices and troop-contributing countries. Those two aspects should be addressed in the reorganization of the offices dealing with peace-keeping operations. His delegation welcomed the report of the Secretary-General on the feasibility of establishing a United Nations peace-keeping fellowship programme (A/47/604) and hoped that the project would be translated into reality.

37. With regard to the issue of the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel, Pakistan believed that the "Blue Helmets" should be respected at all times by all concerned parties, and consequently fully supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8 before the Committee.

38. Mr. POPESCU (Romania) highlighted the importance of the report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" and hoped that its proposals would be speedily implemented. His delegation joined those delegations which fully supported the enhancement of the role of the United Nations in the endeavours to establish an efficient mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes and other emergency situations.

39. The United Nations had for decades been successfully carrying out peace-keeping operations, in which it could count on the support of an increasing number of Member States. Romania intended to broaden its participation in those efforts, within the framework of the United Nations and regional structures. It had already offered its services and would shortly submit concrete details on the subject, on the basis of the updated questionnaire which the Secretariat would issue.

(Mr. Popescu, Romania)

40. His delegation wished to highlight a few elements with regard to peace-keeping and related activities which, in its view, were of particular importance for the establishment of a more reliable system of collective security. The significant increase in the number and size of United Nations peace-keeping operations, and in some cases their higher level of complexity, required the strengthening of the capability to prepare and conduct such activities. In that task, the United Nations should continue to be the focus for the coordination of all the efforts undertaken in the field of maintaining peace. Recognition should also be shown for the actions of Member States that contributed to those endeavours by making available their facilities for training, early-warning, conducting and carrying out complex operations.

41. Furthermore, it was necessary to work towards a more effective procedure for establishing clear and practical arrangements between the United Nations and troop-contributing countries. The provisions of those arrangements should be in compliance with the obligations assumed by the parties concerned, the security of United Nations staff and further measures which could be taken by the United Nations in respect of non-compliance by any of the parties with the previously agreed code of conduct.

42. With regard to cooperation between the United Nations and regional arrangements at different stages of development in emergency situations, the revitalization of Chapter VIII of the Charter was a necessity in the search for practical ways of preventing and settling regional conflicts. The recent contributions of regional organizations and arrangements to the achievement of the objectives of the Charter were more encouraging, and Member States should be made more responsible for their unique position and capacity to provide assistance for the maintenance or restoration of peace and stability in the countries of their region through preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building.

43. The United Nations should be directly involved in supervising the whole process on a permanent basis, especially since regional arrangements were carrying on large-scale peace-keeping operations and the parties involved were requesting, in particular, that the United Nations should monitor such activities. If regional arrangements and organizations were taking the main responsibility for defusing tensions and seeking solutions to conflicts, the United Nations should assist them with expertise and other appropriate means for ensuring respect for the practices and principles applicable to United Nations operations. It would also be useful to submit periodic reports to the relevant United Nations bodies, namely the Security Council, on ways of conducting those operations in accordance with United Nations standards.

44. In conclusion, his delegation expressed its unreserved support for the two draft resolutions before the Committee, which would help to improve the planning, execution and management of peace-keeping operations.

45. Mr. MARTINEZ (Colombia) said that Colombia attached great importance to peace-keeping operations in which it had participated during the previous 40 years by contributing police forces and military observers. That collaboration with the United Nations continued currently in operations in El Salvador, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, the Sinai and Angola. In that connection, he reiterated the concern, expressed by his country's delegation to the General Assembly, that the process of selecting contingents from the different countries should use equitable and impartial criteria, since there had been cases in which the principles of universality, such as non-discrimination on the basis of language and culture, had not been observed in the selection of contingents.

46. His delegation was concerned by the fact that the peace-keeping operations failed to observe the very principles that led to the intervention of the United Nations, and expressed the hope that those responsible for such operations would be appreciative of the generosity with which Member States provided contingents and of the need to ensure that the most elementary procedures of fairness were respected in the selection and management of contingents.

47. His delegation also agreed with the need to improve the administrative mangement of the United Nations. In that regard he noted that, owing to the rapidity with which peace-keeping operations were conducted and their enormous scale, it had not been possible to consider thoroughly the serious observations made by the Consultative Committee on Administrative Questions and by the Board of Auditors on the administrative deficiencies in the planning and execution of such operations.

48. He also stressed the importance of prompt payment of contributions by Member States to the budget of peace-keeping operations. In that regard, his delegation believed that the political responsibility inherent in such contributions far transcended the absolute or relative financial burden which they might represent in national budgets.

49. With regard to the report contained in document A/47/386, his delegation underlined the importance which it attached to the establishment of the Working Group within the General Assembly in relation to agenda item 10. The report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping" (A/47/277-S/24111) was an extremely important document which, with its own internal logic, should therefore be discussed and analysed as a whole, without fragmentation.

50. Mr. THAN (Malaysia) said that the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) would certainly be a useful guide for the conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations, which had been given increasingly complex mandates and tasks, including monitoring of human rights situations, supervising the conduct of elections, verifying the implementation of agreements by the parties in conflict, and the training of peace-keepers. The report should be examined in the light of the document presented by the Secretary-General which contained "An Agenda for Peace" encompassing the whole

(Mr. Than, Malaysia)

spectrum of preventive diplomacy and the peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building capacity of the United Nations.

51. His delegation fully agreed that the role of the United Nations peace-keeping forces should be expanded, particularly at the current time when there was an international consensus on the central role of the United Nations in enhancing the effectiveness of maintaining international peace, security and stability. In that regard, he noted with concern the financial crisis facing the United Nations, which could seriously impede its ability to carry out its enormous workload and, in particular, its peace-keeping activities. It was imperative for Member States to make their financial contributions to peace-keeping operations in a timely manner.

52. The current financial crisis was not only undermining the ability of the United Nations to perform its tasks, but could encourage the application of selective or double standards in addressing threats to international peace and security. The tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was one clear example where the financial crisis, in a way, had been the reason for inadequate action by the United Nations, and precedents had been established, as in the case of resolution 770 (1992), where only countries which could afford to make their own military contributions to UNPROFOR in order to ensure the safety of the humanitarian relief efforts on behalf of the beleaguered people of Bosnia and Herzegovina were able to participate.

53. If that situation was allowed to continue, the United Nations would in fact be encouraging the participation of a few rich nations in peace-keeping operations, moving away from the concept of their universality through the broadest possible participation and representation reflecting the common interests of the international community in the maintenance of global peace and security. The principles and guidelines on the financing of all United Nations peace-keeping operations must be observed at all costs.

54. In order to improve the current financial situation, sources of financial contribution should be diversified, to include voluntary contributions from Member States and from regional, non-governmental and private organizations. In that connection, his delegation supported the idea of an in-depth study of the issue of supplementing assessed contributions by diversified financial resources.

55. The Secretary-General's proposal to secure financial arrangements for the start-up phase of a new peace-keeping operation through the establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund at a level of $50 million appeared especially interesting. The suggestion that peace-keeping contributions should be financed from the defence rather than the foreign affairs budget of Member States was also practical. However, his delegation had some reservations regarding the Secretary-General's proposals to establish a United Nations Peace Endowment Fund of $1 billion, to impose commercial rates of interest on late payment of assessed contributions, and to borrow commercially to remedy the deepening deficit of United Nations financing for its activities and operations.

(Mr. Than, Malaysia)

56. His delegation welcomed the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations in order to meet the quantitative and qualitative demands of such missions, but a more unified and integrated structure should be created within that Department with clear lines of responsibility and accountability. In order to increase further the effectiveness and efficiency of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the recommendation that the Secretary-General should conduct a study on ways to prevent duplication of work and responsibility of civilian and military staff in the field and to improve their interaction and cooperation in fulfilling their assigned duties.

57. Malaysia recognized that training formed one of the essential elements in enhancing the effectiveness of peace-keeping operations, and fully understood the financial limitations on the United Nations to embark on comprehensive training programmes covering all aspects of peace-keeping. Although it welcomed the initiative of some Member States which had offered to provide training to international staff as well as their own personnel engaged in peace-keeping operations, it favoured a more coordinated and consolidated approach to such training, to be administered by the United Nations Secretariat, in order to link national and regional training programmes.

58. Regarding the security of peace-keeping operations, it was imperative that the United Nations should take all necessary measures to ensure the highest possible level of safety. In that regard, his delegation hoped to see, in the near future, the formulation of an international legal instrument for the protection of United Nations peace-keeping personnel.

59. Because of the high cost of peace-keeping operations, they should be of a temporary nature and should not be regarded as substitutes for long-term political settlement of a conflict. Malaysia supported the recommendations of the Secretary-General concerning the use of military force and preventive diplomacy to deter a possible aggressor, and for that reason, had supported the use of such measures in order to uphold the rule of law. However, it was necessary to proceed with caution to avoid violating the sovereignty of States and interfering in their internal affairs.

60. In conclusion, his delegation reiterated its support to peace-keeping operations and recalled that Malasyia had contributed military and police personnel to United Nations operations such as UNIKOM, UNAVEM II, MINURSO, UNTAC and UNOSGI.

61. Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus) said that, while the positive and historic developments of the past few years had raised hopes for a new world order free from the inequities and insecurities of the past, the fall of ideological barriers had unleashed forces which jeopardized the process of democratization and the cohesion of States. In a context of growing disparity between rich and poor, immense debt, ecological damage, a growing number of refugees and continuing massive human rights violations, the United Nations was called upon to play a role hitherto constrained by the East-West confrontation. Therefore, his delegation welcomed the initiative taken in 1992 at the

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

Security Council Summit Meeting which had resulted in the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111).

62. His delegation supported the belief underlying that report that the securing of international peace and security was not confined to preventing or solving military issues but also encompassed political, economic, legal, social, humanitarian and environmental issues. It also endorsed the Secretary-General's view that, in the maintenance of international peace and security, the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively.

63. The enormous increase in the number and scope of peace-keeping operations in the past few years demonstrated their importance to the international community as a means of reaching its primary objective of ensuring international peace and security. However, that imposed new burdens on the ability of the Organization to respond to problems of logistics, equipment, personnel and finance. Particularly with regard to financing, the growing disparity between the ever-rising demand and the funds available was alarming.

64. His delegation strongly believed that peace-keeping was a collective responsibility and that Member States should pay their assessments in full and on time. The current scale of assessments was the only viable mechanism for the financing of peace-keeping operations. Also, the specific suggestions of the Secretary-General for improving the financial situation were worthy of support, including the immediate establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund of $50 million, and the suggestions to improve the efficiency of such operations, including the training of personnel and the strengthening of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. The idea of keeping certain equipment on stand-by for United Nations use when needed was also valuable.

65. The Secretary-General's ideas concerning cooperation with regional organizations were also worthy of support, provided that the principle that the United Nations had the primary responsibility for ensuring international peace and security was not undermined. Another major aspect of peace-keeping operations that should be addressed urgently was the safety of personnel, which was also the subject of constructive suggestions in the report referred to.

66. Cyprus was a case study not only in the field of peace-keeping but also in the area of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. As early as December 1963, Cyprus had requested United Nations assistance when threatened with acts of intervention by a much stronger neighbour, at which time the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) had been established. Following the 1974 invasion, the Security Council and the General Assembly had unanimously adopted resolutions demanding respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus and an immediate end to the foreign military intervention. UNFICYP had supervised the cease-fire, fulfilled its role in an admirable manner and also carried out humanitarian functions.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

67. Nevertheless, after 18 years, the Cyprus problem remained unresolved, while UNFICYP faced serious financial problems, which were analysed in the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council in September 1992 (S/24581). Those difficulties should be resolved urgently and the role of UNFICYP should not be jeopardized by altering its structure or reducing its strength because that would adversely affect the possibilities for a peaceful outcome of the Cyprus problem and expose the country to the threat of occupation by a powerful foreign army.

68. Despite the tremendous upheaval and catastrophic consequences resulting from the 1974 invasion, Cyprus had always made substantial contributions to defray the costs of UNFICYP. In stark contrast, the country responsible for the establishment of the Force and its prolonged presence in Cyprus had not made any contribution whatsoever. The lesson to be drawn from the Cyprus peace-keeping effort was that as long as one of the parties concerned was not willing to comply with the dictates of the international community, the result would be the indefinite continuation or perpetuation of the problem. The answer lay not in abandoning the peace-keeping effort, but in pressing on to ensure the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions by all available means.

69. The only hope of achieving international peace and security for the benefit of all nations, small or large, lay in strengthening the Organization, whose value had been justly recognized four years earlier when the United Nations peace-keeping operations had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

70. Lastly, his delegation expressed its support for draft resolutions A/SPC/47/L.7 and L.8.

71. Mr. Khouini (Tunisia) took the Chair.

72. Mr. AMBARTSUMOV (Russian Federation) said that in 1992, the consideration of United Nations peace-keeping operations was taking place under unique circumstances in view of the fact that the changes that had occurred in the general situation had enabled the Organization to carry out its peace-keeping functions on an unprecedented scale, which had dramatically increased the authority of the United Nations. On the other hand, in the territories where totalitarian forces had formerly reigned, local conflicts, primarily inter-ethnic ones, had become more frequent; nationalist extremist groups had acquired unprecedented freedom of action and that had had a poisonous effect on peoples, which could not always be neutralized by the democratic forces in power.

73. The report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" had given fresh impetus to the discussion of peace-keeping because it reflected all the useful experience accumulated by the United Nations in recent years. The Russian Federation, which was a permanent member of the Security Council, had clearly defined its position with respect to peace-keeping operations; that position was based on compliance with the obligations under the Charter

(Mr. Ambartsumov, Russian Federation)

and had been outlined in the Security Council on 31 January 1992 by President Boris Yeltsin, who had stated that the Russian Federation was prepared to play a practical role in United Nations peace-keeping operations and contribute to their logistical support.

74. His delegation viewed as very constructive the idea expressed in the report of the Secretary-General concerning more active involvement of regional organizations, while maintaining the main responsibility of the Security Council in those matters. Although the Commonwealth of Independent States strived to play an appropriate role in those activities, one could not but recognize that its economic institutions had been unable to function at full capacity owing to some objective and subjective reasons.

75. The Russian Federation believed that it was its responsibility to shoulder a considerable portion of the burden of overcoming bloody conflicts in certain territories of the former Soviet Union, with the consent and upon the request of the parties concerned and, for that reason, attached major importance to studying the peace-keeping experience of the United Nations. The collective peace-keeping forces and military observer groups established by the Commonwealth of Independent States had been fashioned according to the model and standards of the United Nations. In that connection, mention should also be made of the agreement signed by the Commonwealth Heads of State in Kiev on 20 March 1992.

76. At the current time, there were two peace-keeping operations with the participation of Russian military units, namely, in the Trans-Dniester Region and South Ossetia. The operations had had encouraging results since military operations had ceased and people were no longer dying. The Russian Federation had received similar requests from the Tajik authorities and leaders of neighbouring Central Asian republics in connection with the incessant civil war in Tajikistan.

77. The Russian Federation was very interested in involving United Nations forces in such peace-keeping operations, if only at a minimal, symbolic level because it did not want to be accused of reviving imperial policies and, at the same time, could not allow continued loss of life on the part of innocent civilians.

78. The Russian Federation was also expanding its participation in operations conducted in other hotbeds of tension in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. More than 900 Russian nationals were on duty in Yugoslavia and some 140 were in Cambodia, where his country was also providing logistical support for operations. There were Russian military observer groups also on the Iraq-Kuwait border and in Western Sahara and other regions. Russian soldiers and officers, police and civilian experts were participating in those missions in order to facilitate implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping mandate. Nevertheless, the general public in his country, which had tragic memories of the adventure perpetrated in Afghanistan by former leaders, was apprehensive of involving fellow citizens in military operations outside

(Mr. Ambartsumov, Russian Federation)

Russia and, in that respect, the Russian Federation sought the understanding of all.

79. He took note of the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) and felt that it was necessary to continue to elaborate and broaden its conclusions in order to take into account the increasing demands placed on United Nations peace-keeping operations in that field and the States providing human, material and financial resources. The recommendation concerning wider participation by States in providing personnel for United Nations operations deserved unqualified support; and, in that connection, the Russian Federation favoured the establishment of voluntary national reserve forces, which would include military units, civilian police officers and civilian experts.

80. The Russian Federation supported expanding the United Nations role in the area of preventive diplomacy, particularly, in preventing international military conflicts. In that connection, consideration should be given to the possibility of setting up demilitarized zones, humanitarian corridors and tranquillity zones and ensuring their status through military contingents.

81. One of the main subjects for consideration by the Special Committee was the development, in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter, of comprehensive interaction between subregional and regional organizations, specialized agencies and United Nations functional units in order to induce the world community to respond to inter-ethnic and religious conflicts as well as environmental and humanitarian emergencies.

82. Further consideration should be given to the idea of establishing, with the sanction of the Security Council and on a case-by-case basis, mechanisms for deterring potential aggressors and procedures for responding promptly to acts of aggression and threats to international peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; the scope of activities of such mechanisms would be pre-determined. In that regard, the time was ripe for implementing the as-yet-unimplemented provisions of articles 42 and 43 of the United Nations Charter. For the first time since the establishment of the United Nations, there were no obstacles to the establishment of forces that could undertake action to maintain or restore international peace and security.

83. With regard to extending the involvement of Russian personnel in peace-keeping operations, the Russian Federation needed to create a sound legal basis for such kinds of activities. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation was considering a bill concerning the terms under which Russian contingents could participate in peace-keeping operations conducted by the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States and be made available to the Security Council in accordance with the provisions of Article 43 of the Charter.

84. The Russian Federation attached the utmost importance to the recommendation concerning the enhancement of the security of United Nations

(Mr. Ambartsumov, Russian Federation)

personnel contained in draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8 which had been introduced by Ukraine and co-sponsored by the Russian Federation. Strong measures must be taken against those who threatened such personnel or interfered with the performance of their functions. It was therefore important to adopt the draft resolution. The mechanism outlined therein could be used successfully to ensure the security of peace-keeping forces on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

85. The financing of peace-keeping operations was becoming an increasingly serious problem for the United Nations. The sources of financing should be diversified and regional organizations and private companies should be encouraged to participate in the financing of peace-building activities since they would benefit from the settlement of conflicts and the restoration of normal trade and economic relations.

86. In view of the growing financial expenditures of peace-keeping operations, it was necessary to ensure that available resources were used in the most effective manner. That was an issue which would have to be considered by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Fifth Committee, and other financial bodies of the United Nations.

87. Given the dynamic and qualitative evolution of peace-keeping operations, the Special Committee should draft and adopt a declaration on United Nations peace-keeping operations.

88. Mr. JANDL (Austria) said that as the number of peace-keeping operations had increased so had their mandates and tasks expanded and widened: whereas the older peace-keeping operations remained within the traditional doctrine of peace-keeping, the newer operations comprised additional humanitarian, human rights, administrative, electoral and other elements which demonstrated clearly that international peace and security depended not merely on military factors but were inextricably linked to social and humanitarian questions and to various aspects of economic, environmental and development relations.

89. Austria had time and again underlined its conviction that peace and security could not be addressed only from a military standpoint but called for a comprehensive approach that took all those aspects into account. Therefore, when Austria used the term "peace-keeping operations" it was using it in the broader sense of peacemaking, peace-building and preventive efforts. It should also be noted that since a considerable number of the operations concerned civil wars and internal crises or conflicts springing from secession, they must include civilian, administrative and electoral components.

90. The Foreign Ministry of Austria had recently conducted a study on the various kinds of operations, both conventional and new and as many as 18 different categories of peace-keeping operations had been identified. Without going into detail about the characteristics of those 18 categories, it should be noted that because of the special nature of those operations increased activities were needed in the field of peace-building and preventive diplomacy.

(Mr. Jandl, Austria)

91. Hotbeds of crisis, such as the situation prevailing in various parts of the former Soviet Union, needed to be addressed urgently, and called for prompt action, even if it meant that some of the parties to a conflict had not given their agreement to United Nations involvement. In that respect, Austria had in the past, called for a study to determine what characteristics justified United Nations involvement, in a situation, noting that an active role by the United Nations could dramatically increase the prospects for settling confrontations before any blood was spilled. Moreover, if when preventive efforts were successful, there was no need for costly, large-scale operations: the earlier the United Nations became involved, the smaller the financial outlay required and the lesser the danger to peace-keeping personnel; Austria had always emphasized the safety of such personnel and was proud to be a sponsor the draft resolution submitted by Ukraine.

92. Austria hoped that the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", would be implemented rapidly and that the informal working group would give concrete impetus to the consideration of the recommendations.

93. Austria welcomed the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and hoped that its recommendations would soon be implemented. As to financing, all States must pay their contributions in full and on time; Austria supported the Secretary-General's proposal to charge interest on the amounts of assessed contributions that were not paid on time. It also supported the idea of financing peace-keeping operations from defence budgets, and of establishing a reserve fund for the start-up costs of those operations. Austria deplored the anomalous financing system of UNFICYP.

94. With regard to the Special Committee's comments, he said that Austria welcomed the restructuring of the United Nations Secretariat and the augmentation under the heading "organization and effectiveness" (A/47/253, sect. III), of the military and civilian staff of the Secretariat. It hoped that the consultation mechanisms envisaged in General Assembly resolution 41/213 would be maintained, and that all the existing possibilities for consultations with the members concerned would be fully utilized. In that respect, he drew attention to the recommendation contained in paragraph 20, of that section of the report.

95. With regard to the heading "Resources" in the same section, he said that his delegation attached great importance to questions of training for peace-keeping personnel. Austria was expanding its training capabilities for military observers. Over the past years, training courses had been opened for international participation, and Austria hoped that more and more countries would benefit from its programmes.

96. With regard to the heading "Development of peace-keeping", in view of the increasing importance of cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations Austria had proposed the creation of liaison mechanisms between the United Nations and relevant institutions. In the same context,

(Mr. Jandl, Austria)

Austria welcomed the Committee's report on its intersessional meeting on "The agenda for peace".

97. Mr. EKOUMILONG (Cameroon) said that the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and the report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" stressed the growing importance of peace-keeping operations, which were growing in number and becoming increasingly diversified. The United Nations increased capacity to participate in peacemaking and the solution of internal or international conflicts was one of the fortunate consequences of the end of the cold war.

98. Cameroon welcomed that development, but recognized that much still remained to be done since, while some conflicts were being finally resolved, others were emerging. In that situation, particular emphasis should be placed on preventive diplomacy, concentrated on human rights violations, the resurgence of nationalisms and ethnic and religious antagonisms, poverty and ignorance.

99. Preventive diplomacy, however, should not obscure the importance of peace-keeping operations as such. In that respect, he pointed out that all Member States should pay their contributions to those operations on time and in full and should, to the extent of their capabilities, make available military or civilian personnel or any other type of assistance required for such operations. The Organization's precarious financial situation gave cause for concern. In general, the system for the assessment of contributions was satisfactory, but there were still some imperfections which needed to be studied, above all regarding the classification of certain States in group D.

100. With regard to the generally accepted need to promote a better regional balance in participation in peace-keeping operations, Cameroon, which had some experience in that respect and was aware of the difficulties involved in assembling the heavy equipment needed for a military contingent on short notice, was in favour of continued consideration of the question. On the basis of that same experience, his delegation, like a number of others, had suggested that coordination in the organization of operations at the Secretariat level needed to be improved; in that respect, it believed that the establishment of the Department of peace-keeping operations would help overcome the difficulties inherent in organizing such operations.

101. With regard to the value of regional agreements for the solution of individual conflicts, his delegation drew attention to the initiative of the member States of the Economic Community of Central African States in establishing an advisory committee responsible for security questions at the level of that subregion. That Committee had approved various recommendations at its organizational meeting, held at Yaoundé from 27 to 31 July 1991, including the establishment of a regional centre for the training of personnel for peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Ekoumilong, Cameroon)

102. Cameroon wished to thank the United Nations for the assistance it had given to the process of implementing confidence-building measures in the subregion, and was proud to have been able to contribute to peace-keeping operations in Cambodia by providing a group of military observers and a police contingent.

103. The CHAIRMAN said that, the Committee would continue its consideration of agenda item 75 at its morning meeting on Friday, 13 November, and would take action on draft resolutions A/SPC/47/L.7 and L.8 on that item. It would begin its consideration of agenda item 76 at 10 a.m. on Monday, 16 November. The list of speakers on that item would open on the morning of Friday, 13 November so that delegations would have sufficient time to include their names on it.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records

SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
17th meeting
held on
Friday, 13 November 1992
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 17th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. ALSAIDI (Vice-Chairman)	(Yemen)
later:	Mr. KHOUINI (Chairman)	(Tunisia)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 75: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued)

(b) SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

This record is subject to correction.
Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned *within one week of the date of publication* to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, Room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate corrigendum for each Committee.

92-57746 6374S (E)

Distr. GENERAL
A/SPC/47/SR.17
1 December 1992
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 75: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/SPC/47/L.7 AND L.8)

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued) (A/47/253)

(b) SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued) (A/47/386)

(c) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/47/597 and 604)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that Costa Rica, the Republic of Korea and Romania had joined the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

2. Mr. ZALESKI (Poland) said that the ideas and concrete proposals concerning preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping put forward in the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111) were aimed at strengthening the role of the United Nations in those areas. Poland was following with keen interest the consideration of the report in the Security Council, in the open-ended working group and in the Main Committees of the General Assembly. In the view of his delegation, efforts should concentrate on the proposals aimed at strengthening the Organization's capabilities in the field of conflict containment and settlement that could be implemented without delay.

3. Poland supported the proposals contained in the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) and wished to present some ideas on how to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of United Nations peace-keeping operations.

4. First, although every peace-keeping operation was different and had its own characteristics, the same mistakes were usually made in all such operations; in particular, the deployment of main forces before logistical units had caused many problems that should be avoided in future. The deployment of logistical units should be synchronized with the supply of the necessary technical equipment and material.

5. Secondly, there was a need to standardize operational and administrative procedures. Poland supported the exchange of national experience among countries that contributed troops, and it was ready to share the experience it had gained in the operation of the Military Centre for United Nations Peace-keeping Operations in Kielce.

6. Poland shared the Secretary-General's view concerning the need for an augmentation of the strength and capability of both military and civilian staff dealing with peace-keeping matters in the Secretariat. That was why his

(Mr. Zaleski, Poland)

delegation believed that the Secretariat, and in particular the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the Field Operations Division, should keep an updated roster of candidates for future operations. Poland was adjusting its legislative and organizational norms in order to widen the recruitment of both military and civilian staff and would soon be able to respond positively to future requests of the Secretary-General concerning military observers, policemen and specialists needed in the field or at Headquarters, as suggested in the note by the President of the Security Council dated 29 October 1992 (S/24728).

7. That note also suggested that States should provide forces to the United Nations for peace-keeping operations at short notice. In that connection, the Government of Poland had decided to detach a number of infantry units to be available for peace-keeping operations in 7 to 14 days after the Secretary-General's request.

8. One of the most important aspects of peace-keeping operations was the safety of personnel who took part in such operations. In that respect, the situation required immediate action by the General Assembly, and that was why Poland was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8 and the relevant paragraphs of draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.7. Moreover, Poland supported the idea presented by the United Kingdom on behalf of the States members of the European Community to construct a memorial at United Nations Headquarters to United Nations personnel who had lost their lives in peace-keeping operations.

9. Mr. CHENG Jingye (China) said that his delegation had already explained its position on the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" during the consideration of agenda item 10, and it looked forward to an in-depth study of that report, in which China would actively participate.

10. With the end of confrontation between the two large military blocs, a new era in history had begun. However, the world was still very far from being peaceful and, in some areas, ethnic rivalries and territorial disputes, sometimes aggravated by armed conflicts, posed an enormous threat to world peace. In such circumstances, it was to be hoped that the United Nations would play a more important role. In recent years, the United Nations had made remarkable contributions to promoting the settlement of regional conflicts through peace-keeping operations, and China wished to pay tribute to all the military and civilian personnel who had participated in operations, and expressed its thanks to the Secretary-General for the way in which he had conducted such peace-keeping operations.

11. It was necessary to emphasize some of the important guiding principles for peace-keeping operations: the establishment and the activities of all peace-keeping operations must be based on the purposes and principles of the Charter; peace-keeping operations should be set up only at the request of all the parties concerned, and with their prior consent and cooperation; all

(Mr. Cheng Jingye, China)

peace-keeping operations must respect the principle of State sovereignty and non-interference and must observe neutrality and impartiality; and no peace-keeping operations should be allowed to use force except in self-defence.

12. With the continued increase of peace-keeping operations and the expansion of their activities, the human, material and financial resources of the United Nations were being increasingly strained. Before taking on a peace-keeping operation, it was advisable to examine all the circumstances in order to make an appropriate assessment. At the same time, the relevant parties had the responsibility of providing all the necessary cooperation and making full use of the favourable conditions created by the operation in order to find an early solution to the conflict through negotiations. His delegation was willing to cooperate with other countries to study the problem of financial difficulties and, in that regard, it believed that all Member States should fulfil their obligations.

13. The question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel had become an increasingly important issue. The United Nations should work out an appropriate solution to ensure that such dangers were reduced to a minimum. Moreover, all parties to a conflict had the responsibility and obligation to take all the necessary measures to ensure the safety of peace-keeping personnel.

14. China had always participated in United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security, and there were currently 86 Chinese military observers and a 400-man engineering detachment serving in United Nations peace-keeping operations in the Middle East, Western Sahara, Iraq and Kuwait and Cambodia. China was ready to continue to make such contributions to the cause of peace.

15. Mr. McKEE (Ireland) supported the statement made by the United Kingdom on behalf of the 12 States members of the European Community.

16. The end of the cold war and the East-West confrontation had unveiled a more complex picture of regional and ethnic strife, which had claimed many lives. The conflict in former Yugoslavia in particular had revealed the frightening dimensions of inter-ethnic and regional violence. Against that background, the role of United Nations peace-keeping operations in the maintenance of international security was daily assuming greater importance. By the same token, the issue of the resources at the Organization's disposal to carry out its growing responsibilities had taken on added urgency.

17. As a result of the strong commitment of successive Irish Governments to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the idealism of the many Irish who had volunteered to participate in peace-keeping operations, Ireland had contributed troops to most of the past and present operations, and it was currently participating in 10 of the 12 missions in the field.

(Mr. McKee, Ireland)

18. It was obvious that the dramatic expansion in peace-keeping operations in recent months placed a huge burden on the Secretariat, and Ireland paid tribute to the staff for their dedication in coping with the increased workload. Ireland welcomed the structural reforms within the Secretariat. However, it was convinced that it would ultimately be necessary to make the Field Operations Division part of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, because a unified, integrated Department would ensure a more effective use of resources.

19. With respect to the report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), Ireland particularly welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal to improve the start-up phase of new operations by providing for the establishment of a Peace-keeping Reserve Fund. It noted the commitment of other delegations to that proposal and hoped that agreement would be reached on the modalities for establishing such a Fund before the end of the current session.

20. The question of the safety of peace-keeping personnel required urgent measures. Like several other countries, Ireland had suffered casualties in 1992 among its troops serving with United Nations forces. It therefore welcomed the Secretary-General's emphasis on the safety of personnel at all stages of the planning and conduct of peace-keeping operations. In addition, Governments directly involved in conflict situations should do all in their power to ensure the safety of personnel. Ireland endorsed draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, introduced by Ukraine, of which it and the other members of the European Community were sponsors.

21. The financing of peace-keeping operations remained a major problem. As the Secretary-General had noted in his most recent report on the financial situation of the Organization (A/C.5/47/13), troop-contribting countries such as Ireland continued to bear the brunt of the late payments, and Ireland considered that state of affairs unacceptable. The financing of peace-keeping operations was the responsibility of all Members, and it could be met only by the payment of all contributions.

22. Peace-keeping operations played a critical role and were a tangible expression of the international community's commitment to the ideals expressed in the Charter. In the coming years, United Nations peace-keeping forces were likely to face ever more complex situations, and Ireland hoped that they would receive all the financial and moral support they needed to cary out successfully their difficult and noble mission.

23. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that the Special Political Committee had grasped the urgent need for the United Nations to meet the political and security challenges of today's world. Peace-keeping operations were the Organization's response to that challenge, and financial limitations should not be allowed to sap the strength of that response. In that regard, Lebanon supported the recommendations and conclusions contained in document A/47/253, especially with respect to the need to pool military and financial resources in order to create standing United Nations forces to ensure peace and security.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

24. His delegation welcomed the Secretary-General's plans in "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111) to expand the role of peace-keeping operations to encompass peacemaking operations. It believed that the definition of the concept of peace-keeping should be broadened to include election monitoring, distribution of humanitarian assistance, verification of demobilization agreements and conciliation of conflicting parties. That concept should also include the provision of the means of enforcing peace if peace-keeping forces became the target of aggression or were prevented from implementing their mandate.

25. Lebanon welcomed the proposals for the creation of a $50 million revolving peace-keeping fund for emergency humanitarian assistance, as well as a United Nations Peace Endowment Fund with an initial target of $1 billion.

26. Referring to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), he said that it had played a significant role in controlling the level of violence in its area of operation and in providing humanitarian assistance to the people in that area. It had also symbolized world commitment to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon. However, it should be pointed out that UNIFIL had experienced difficulties in fulfilling its mandate as a result of the activities of the Israeli military, including its routine attacks on the whole of the nation of Lebanon by land, air and sea, which had impeded the progressive transfer of the UNIFIL area of operation to the Lebanese Army.

27. Peace-keeping activities were and should continue to be temporary in nature, with specific objectives to be met within a specific time frame. The time had therefore come for the United Nations to see to it that the provisions of the mandate of UNIFIL were implemented and that Israel met its obligations accordingly. It was the duty of the United Nations to establish the conditions in which justice and respect for obligations arising from the Charter and international law could be maintained.

28. His delegation applauded the valuable contributions made by United Nations peace-keeping forces throughout the world and, in particular, the great sacrifices made by UNIFIL. It deeply shared the Secretary-General's concern for the safety of peace-keeping personnel, and it urged the Committee to adopt draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, which would contribute greatly to ensuring their safety and protection.

29. Mr. WATSON (United States of America) said that his delegation supported the resolution on the question of peace-keeping operations submitted to the Special Political Committee by the Committee of 34, which highlighted a number of ingredients essential to the success of United Nations efforts in preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking.

30. The capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy should be strengthened. Concrete steps could be taken in that regard, such as the

(Mr. Watson, United States)

establishment of a more efficient and rational flow of information which would permit preventive diplomacy to be pursued in several areas at once, and the development of a more systematic capacity to analyse threats to peace and make timely use of the information related to those threats.

31. The United States also shared the view that means and mechanisms for deterring conflict should be explored. There could be no doubt that deterrence had contributed in many cases to conflict avoidance. Of equal importance was the capacity to respond rapidly to peace-keeping requirements. Member States should develop and train military units which could be made available at short notice for humanitarian and peace-keeping needs. The United States was engaged in an effort to identify services and resources which it could contribute to assist United Nations humanitarian and peace-keeping operations, and to explore ways in which United States facilities might be used in promoting joint international training, exercises and simulations.

32. A key aspect of readiness was financing and, in that connection, his delegation supported the proposal currently before the Fifth Committee regarding the establishment of a peace-keeping reserve fund. The formula for calculating peace-keeping assessments should be made more equitable to reflect the new interest by Member States in the increased peace-keeping activities of the United Nations.

33. A stronger organizational infrastructure was also essential. A computer-supported operations centre was indispensable to the rapid, complete and secure communications which were needed to provide timely and comprehensive information and control with regard to all aspects of peace-keeping operations in the field. There was also a need for a significant reinforcement of the number and capability of United Nations civilian and military staff engaged in contingency and operational planning for peace-keeping and related missions, and greater use should be made of seconded military and civilian personnel, particularly when missions were being planned or launched.

34. Finally, his delegation shared the view that the United Nations should be more systematic in integrating peace-building into conflict resolution. It also felt that, in addition to reflecting on the way in which the United Nations carried out its functions with regard to the maintenance of peace and security, Member States should also from time to time examine the reasons why the Organization carried out such functions.

35. Mr. BULUC (Turkey) said that his delegation endorsed the principles set forth in "An Agenda for Peace" and supported the procedures adopted for the discussion of the recommendations continued therein.

36. The success of peace-keeping operations rested on a clear and practicable mandate given by the Security Council, the cooperation of the parties

(Mr. Buluc, Turkey)

concerned, the readiness of Member States to contribute personnel, and financial and logistical support. The mandate for a peace-keeping operation had to be clearly drawn up, be tailored to the realities and imperatives of the situation and be periodically reviewed in order to ensure that the conditions which had necessitated the peace-keeping measure still prevailed and that it was still relevant. It was also important to review the effectiveness of such operations, with a view to streamlining them so as to reduce costs.

37. Any peace-keeping operation required the full cooperation of the parties to the conflict. Such cooperation began with their consent to the launching of that type of operation or to a review or modification of its mandate. Cooperation also depended on the good will of the parties and their determination to resolve the conflict. In that connection, the Security Council should consider taking measures against parties which refused to cooperate with peace-keeping operations.

38. The increase in the number of troop-contributing countries in recent operations was an encouraging sign of the universal support given to peace-keeping efforts. Wider geographical representation in peace-keeping operations would further encourage participation by countries which did not yet have experience but were prepared and willing to contribute. Countries which could contribute troops should not be discouraged from participation in peace-keeping operations because of considerations relating to their geographical proximity to a conflict.

39. It was important that the Secretariat should continue to receive updated information on what Member States could provide in terms of personnel and logistics, in order to create a sound and extensive database to be utilized in future operations. Turkey supported the call to Member States to respond to the questionnaire prepared by the Secretariat. Keeping in mind its responsibility to further the cause of international peace and security, Turkey had also expressed its readiness to contribute to peace-keeping operations.

40. His delegation supported the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace" with regard to the dangers and risks faced by peace-keeping personnel. In that connection, it supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, which it felt would help to preserve the life and dignity of peace-keeping personnel.

41. It was essential to find a solution to the current financial crisis in peace-keeping operations. Given the large number of peace-keeping operations currently being carried out by the United Nations, Member States should do everything possible to share in the costs of such operations. The establishment of a peace-keeping reserve fund, as recommended by the Secretary-General in "An Agenda for Peace", would enable the United Nations to utilize adequate resources in the start-up phase of peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Buluc, Turkey)

The lack of funds had unfortunately been a cause of delay in operations requiring urgent deployment. His delegation felt that a full discussion of the questions relating to the early deployment of peace-keeping forces would be useful in determining the direction of future operations.

42. He commended the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and of the Working Group, and stressed that, since many elements in "An Agenda for Peace" were closely linked to the work of the Special Committee, every effort should be made to avoid duplication.

43. With regard to the report of the Special Committee, particular attention should be paid both to long-standing issues and to new ideas introduced during the session. The participation of civilians in peace-keeping operations was important, but they should not be used in military operations. Turkey attached great importance to the training of both civilian and military personnel and to the readiness of some States with training experience and the necessary facilities to cooperate with others in that area. The United Nations could play an important role in that connection.

44. In view of the increase in the scope of peace-keeping operations, his delegation supported the Secretary-General's recommendation regarding an increase in the strength and capability of the staff serving in the Secretariat in the peace-keeping sector, within the context of the drive towards efficiency. The regular flow of information between the Secretariat and Member States should be maintained and, in that connection, he commended the Secretariat's invaluable contribution.

45. Peace-keeping operations should be temporary in nature, and should complement peace-keeping efforts, by preventing a deterioration of the situation and by paving the way for lasting settlements. The ultimate aim should be to prevent conflicts from occurring. He believed that the action taken on the recommendations contained in "An Agenda for Peace" would help to achieve that end and his delegation was prepared to contribute to such an exercise, keeping in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Finally, he expressed support for the draft resolution before the Committee.

46. Mr. DENEGRI (Peru) stressed the positive evolution of peace-keeping operations, which were accepted by the international community as an instrument for the settlement of conflicts, as well as the expansion of their functions, including the supervision of elections, administrative functions and humanitarian assistance. He drew attention to the importance of the document "An Agenda for Peace", which contained an analysis of the international situation and various initiatives in the area of international peace and security.

47. With the end of the cold war, the concept of international peace and security had taken on a more democratic form. Confidence in the Organization

(Mr. Denegri, Peru)

should be consolidated through the direct participation of all Member States, with broad geographical representation, in the decision-making process. In addition, broad representation would help to ensure the impartiality of the operations. The establishment of a working group to consider the report "An Agenda for Peace" was a necessary step to promote the participation of the General Assembly in the evolution of peace-keeping operations.

48. In the context of that process of democratization, it was important to promote cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter, and with non-governmental organizations and the general public; in that connection, he supported the suggestion made in the Special Committee's report.

49. The concepts of preventive diplomacy and of peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building should be regarded as an integral part of the multilateral system, closely related to economic and social development. The development of those concepts, as part of a broad process of peace and security, made it necessary to reinterpret the concept of sovereignty to encompass the concept of national sovereignties, on the basis of mutual concessions which would result from a democratically established international consensus that was not imposed by a group of countries, on the priority objectives of multilateral action and the mechanisms to achieve them.

50. The establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations was an important step towards improving the capacity of the Secretariat, in the light of the new demands made on it. Questionnaires, in turn, would contribute towards a better evaluation of the resources that could be provided by Member States.

51. The financing of peace-keeping operations amounted to more than double the regular budget of the Organization. In that connection, it was important to reiterate the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and to take into account the more limited financial capacity of the developing countries. His delegation believed that the existing system of contributions was the most appropriate and that, despite financial problems, peace-keeping operations were the most efficient mechanism, from all points of view, for resolving conflicts. It was essential to study various possibilities for alleviating tension before it became acute, for example through the dispatch of fact-finding and observation missions, the establishment of observation posts, and diplomatic steps by the Secretary-General.

52. He said that Peru had always supported peace-keeping operations and drew attention to the need to strengthen the role those operations played with imagination and the necessary political balance in order to safeguard their intrinsic neutrality and promote the principle of universality and collective responsibility in the consolidation of international peace and security. Otherwise, a fundamental part of the structure of the Organization would be endangered.

(Mr. Denegri, Peru)

53. Lastly, he announced that, in the light of recent events, Peru would join the sponsors of the draft resolution on protection of peace-keeping personnel.

54. Mr. KHANDOGY (Ukraine) said that the activities of the United Nations in the field of peacemaking, peace-keeping, preventive diplomacy and related areas had become a priority topic in the Organization. He was confident that the ideas and proposals stemming from the debate in the Committee would contribute to a better understanding by the international community of the unique opportunity provided by the end of the cold war for the settlement of crisis situations. All conflicts could be resolved through multilateral efforts aimed at strengthening international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

55. The universality and recognized impartiality of the United Nations were important elements since they strengthened mutual trust among the parties concerned. In that connection, he stressed that the United Nations should not in any way monopolize the peace-keeping process. An important role in that process should be played by regional organizations, whose authority and influence had greatly increased as a result of the profound change in the relations between the largest nuclear Powers and the end of East-West confrontation. He expressed the hope that the trend towards integration among States, especially in Europe, would make possible the full implementation of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, which provided for the peaceful settlement of disputes through regional arrangements.

56. Recent events had underscored the need for the creation of viable international mechanisms to detect potential hotbeds of tension and prevent them from escalating into open confrontation. In that connection, his delegation commended the definition of the concept of "preventive diplomacy" formulated by the Secretary-General and agreed that its application required measures to build confidence and the establishment of an early warning system based on information-gathering and informal and formal fact-finding; it might also involve preventive deployment and, in some cases, the creation of demilitarized zones.

57. Given the economic and social roots of many potential conflicts, a system must be developed that would encompass economic and social trends, as well as political developments that might lead to dangerous tension. In that regard, increased resort to fact-finding was needed, in accordance with the Charter, initiated by the Secretary-General, the Security Council or the General Assembly. The Special Committee of 34 should take up the issue of preventive diplomacy on the basis of existing recommendations, as well as the new ideas set forth in the report "An Agenda for Peace". As a point of departure, consideration could be given to the proposal that the Security Council, after consultations with regional organizations and the countries concerned, should establish "observation posts" in areas of potential tension. In that connection, he supported the idea that the Special Committee should hold an intersessional meeting early in 1993.

(Mr. Khandogy, Ukraine)

58. Ukraine attached special importance to the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel, not only because it contributed with troops to the operations, but also because it feared that the continuing attacks on the "Blue Helmets" might undermine the popular support that existed in many countries for their operations. The situation was particularly alarming in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the Special Committee should explore the possibility of drafting an international legal instrument, probably a convention, concerning the protection of personnel. Such an instrument might establish the responsibility of the States in which a peace-keeping operation was deployed, as well as of all the parties to a conflict, for the use of force against peace-keepers.

59. He stressed the urgency of the problem of financing peace-keeping operations and fully supported the principle of the collective responsibility of States, in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter. The organs of the United Nations should consider various additional sources of financing and, in that connection, he noted the growing need to address the question of the apportionment of costs. His delegation was convinced that the composition of groups of Member States did not correspond to the reality and that its modification, based on objective criteria, would have a positive effect on the overall financial situation of the Organization.

60. In conclusion, he expressed his confidence that the draft resolutions based on the conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee and the Working Group would be adopted by consensus, and supported the proposal of the United Kingdom that a memorial to those who had fallen in the service of peace should be established at Headquarters.

61. Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil) said that his delegation endorsed the views expressed by Argentina on behalf of the Rio Group, but wished to make some additional remarks on points of more specific interest, relating especially to the views submitted by his country to the Secretary-General.

62. He drew attention to the importance and scale of current peace-keeping operations and the renewed interest not only in questions raised by that unprecedented increase, but also in the evolution of the very concept of such operations.

63. The document entitled "An Agenda for Peace" was an important frame of reference for the discussion of the future of peace-keeping operations; it contained ideas and proposals that deserved careful consideration by Member States. His delegation supported the discussions that were taking place on the subject within the open-ended working group established by the President of the General Assembly and commended the practice of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations of encouraging the participation of any interested delegation in the debates of its open-ended working group.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

64. Brazil had consistently supported United Nations peace-keeping operations and was currently participating in three of them: UNAVEM II, to which it had assigned military observers, a medical unit, and police and electoral observers; and ONUSAL and UNPROFOR, to which it had assigned military observers, one of whom had been seriously wounded at Sarajevo. In that connection, it should be mentioned that Brazil, which shared the concern of other countries about the safety of United Nations peace-keeping personnel, was one of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution presented by Ukraine, which was contained in document A/SPC/47/L.8.

65. There was room for improvement in United Nations logistics and organizational procedures. In that area, it would be necessary to improve the coordination between the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, the Military Adviser's Office and the Field Operations Division. The strengthening of cooperation between those departments would enhance the efficiency of the Organization and facilitate the participation of Member States in peace-keeping operations, as indicated in paragraph 313 of the report of the Board of Auditors (A/47/5).

66. With regard to the financing of peace-keeping operations, his delegation agreed that such operations were a joint responsibility of Member States and that, in accordance with Article 17 of the Charter of the United Nations, they should be financed through assessed contributions. The establishment of a special scale of assessment would offer three advantages: easy accountability of the system, equity, and political and economic realism. In that connection, Brazil, along with other members of the Rio Group, was in favour of making the financing of peace-keeping operations stable by permanently adopting the system of contributions established under General Assembly resolution 3101 (XXVIII).

67. The Security Council had revised the mandate of UNPROFOR concerning the financial arrangements for the deployment of troops and military observers, thereby introducing elements of inequality into the system of payment. Participation in self-financed peace-keeping operations limited the number of troop contributors, since only the developed countries were in a position to bear the costs of such participation; that ran counter to the idea supported by the General Assembly in paragraph 33 of resolution 46/48.

68. In the field of preventive diplomacy, full use should be made of the resources of the Charter, including measures for the pacific settlement of disputes provided for in Chapter VI. Peace-keeping activities of the United Nations should be guided by the definition of peacemaking contained in resolutions 46/48 and 46/59 of the General Assembly.

69. The implementation of an Agenda for Peace could not exclude the revitalization of the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security. In that regard, there was need for enhanced coordination among the Security Council, the General Assembly and the

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Secretariat, and a strengthening of the role of regional organizations and of their ties with the United Nations.

70. Mr. OULD MOHAMED MAHMOUD (Mauritania) said that, in view of the increasing complexity of peace-keeping operations, careful planning was required based on the cardinal principles governing international relations, namely, the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, non-use of force, and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

71. His delegation took note of the two reports of the Special Committee (A/47/253 and A/47/386), whose recommendations were quite similar to those proposed by the Secretary-General in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277-S/24111), and welcomed the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

72. The steady increase in the number of peace-keeping operations entailed additional expenditure. In Mauritania's view, while the financing of such operations should continue to be the collective responsibility of Member States, in accordance with Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter, it was important to take into account the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council and the financial difficulties of the developing countries.

73. Attention had been drawn to the need to promote active cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. Although it could benefit both parties, such cooperation should be conceived only in terms that were in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter, in order not to detract from the role played by the United Nations in that area.

74. The increasing number and complexity of peace-keeping operations also required that the United Nations should have qualified personnel at its disposal. Mauritania therefore supported the Special Committee's request that the Secretary-General should examine the possibility of organizing a training programme for key peace-keeping personnel with a view to establishing a pool of staff who were familiar with the United Nations system and its methods of work. In that connection, it would be appropriate to define standardized operational procedures which could be applied in all cases.

75. In conclusion, his delegation stressed that security and development were indivisible and drew attention to the need to adopt effective measures to deal with the economic and social problems of some countries, pointing out that that was crucial to the maintenance of international peace and security; it called for an increased role for preventive diplomacy and was prepared to support any action which might strengthen the role of the United Nations, particularly in the field of peace-keeping.

76. Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece) said that his delegation subscribed to the statement made at an earlier meeting by the representative of the United Kingdom speaking on behalf of the European Community and its member States. The report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" had created a new dynamic. The contribution of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and of the Special Political Committee would be instrumental in shaping the future development of peace-keeping activities.

77. Greece, which was a strong supporter of the role of the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping, had a keen interest in participating in that exercise. In recent years, it had contributed a civilian contingent to UNTAG and military observers to UNIKOM and to MINURSO and it stood ready, within the limits of its capability, to contribute with further contingents to future operations. That commitment stemmed from its belief that the maintenance of peace and security was the collective responsibility of the international community.

78. At recent meetings of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, some delegations had expressed the view that the size, structure and mandate of existing operations should be subject to constant review in order to ensure maximum effectiveness at the lowest possible cost. His delegation believed that the need to reduce the cost of peace-keeping operations should in no way affect the basic operational and security arrangements of such operations nor undermine their capacity to discharge the mandates entrusted to them by the Security Council.

79. Peace-keeping operations should be provisional arrangements and not a substitute for a political settlement of a conflict. However, where one of the parties to a dispute was unwilling to comply with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council, it was difficult to foresee the duration of the operation in question. The reduction in the size of an operation might, in certain cases, reward the aggressor, and that posed a difficult moral question. His delegation was therefore convinced that it was up to the Security Council to act effectively in order to ensure that its resolutions were implemented.

80. The chronic financial problems of UNFICYP were well-known to the members of the Committee and had been duly pointed out in the relevant reports of the Secretary-General. While UNFICYP had been established for a brief period, its continued presence in Cyprus remained indispensable. Greece fully endorsed the views of the Secretariat that it would not be proper at the present stage to address the question of a change in the mandate of UNFICYP. At the same time, it was concerned over recent announcements of the reduction or even withdrawal of contingents from the operation, since, as the Force Commander had stated, the withdrawal of contingents would further compromise the Force's ability to carry out its mandate.

81. On the question of the financing of peace-keeping operations, Greece, which advocated the view that all Member States should share the cost of such

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

operations under a system of assessed contributions, fully endorsed the statement made at an earlier meeting by the Permanent Representative of Denmark, speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries, and he reiterated his Government's decision to increase the amount of its voluntary contribution to peace-keeping operations to $1 million per annum, even if a new system brought its assessed contribution to a lower level.

82. Mr. Khouini (Tunisia) took the Chair.

83. Mr. VALEV (Bulgaria) said that it was imperative for the United Nations to adapt its activities, particularly those related to peace-keeping, to the new international realities. Thirteen peace-keeping operations had been launched since 1988, the same number as during the whole of the previous 40 years. Currently 12 peace-keeping operations were in progress, involving more than 50,000 military, police and civilian personnel, in four continents, and another one was to be organized in Mozambique.

84. Qualitatively speaking, the very concept of peace-keeping had evolved to cover such activities as the supervision of elections and the distribution of humanitarian assistance. The report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" presented a comprehensive set of ideas and recommendations concerning preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping in the light of the current pressing problems. Bulgaria would participate in the discussions on those issues in the informal open-ended working group, the Main Committees of the General Assembly, the Security Council and other relevant bodies of the United Nations. In view of the substantial economic difficulties which it was experiencing as a result of its implementation of the Security Council sanctions, Bulgaria had a special interest in early action by the Council to address issues relating to the effectiveness of Article 50 of the Charter.

85. His delegation had carefully studied the report of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations (A/47/253) and supported its conclusions and recommendations. It also welcomed the ideas and views set forth in the special report of the Special Committee (A/47/386). In 1992, Bulgaria had had its first opportunity to participate in United Nations peace-keeping operations, with a contingent of 783 troops, 75 policemen and 17 military observers in UNTAC. Its experience showed that the success of peace-keeping operations largely depended on the quality of the training of personnel. For that reason, it proposed to establish a peace-keeping personnel training centre to exchange experience with other similar institutions.

86. Bulgaria was grateful to those foreign Governments which had, on a bilateral basis, rendered assistance in the training of Bulgarian peace-keeping personnel and, in that connection, it welcomed the reports of the Secretary-General in documents A/47/597 and A/47/604. Bulgaria looked forward to the commencement in the near future of the United Nations peace-keeping fellowship programme, which it believed would be extremely useful and cost-effective.

(Mr. Valev, Bulgaria)

87. As a troop-contributing country, Bulgaria was seriously concerned about the safety of peace-keeping personnel and supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8.

88. Bulgaria shared the concerns about the financial difficulties of the Organization and supported the proposal of the Secretary-General regarding the establishment of a reserve fund to meet the initial expenses of peace-keeping operations pending receipt of assessed contributions. Another solution to the problem would be to allocate a fixed percentage of the defence budgets of Member States to the financing of peace-keeping activities.

89. His country welcomed the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and commended its staff, as well as the staff of the Secretariat as a whole, for their work in that area.

90. Mr. NYAMIKEH (Ghana) said that he looked forward to the establishment of a working group of the General Assembly to consider in depth the report "An Agenda for Peace" and that the reports of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations would greatly enhance discussions on that subject.

91. The end of the cold war provided a window of opportunity, as well as challenges: the departure of one set of problems had been followed by the emergence of a multitude of others. Current conflicts could no longer be perceived within the context of East-West relations but rather in terms of the disintegration of societies along ethnic and religious lines. There was a direct link between the new forms of conflict and the phenomenal increase in peace-keeping operations.

92. Although the contours of the new world order remained uncertain, the new situations had inspired new forms of relations and brought into focus the need for States to renew their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, a cardinal principle of which was that States should settle their disputes by peaceful means.

93. The United Nations should not be selective in its peace-keeping operations. Ghana noted with concern that conflicts in certain parts of the world did not receive the serious attention they deserved, as was the case with Liberia and Somalia. The refugee problems created by the conflict in Liberia had stretched to the full the capacity of neighbouring countries, and the burden had fallen on the countries of the subregion, which had taken action within the framework of the Organization of African Unity. In Somalia, the tardy response of the United Nations had contributed to the escalation of the conflict, which in turn had made it all the more difficult to deliver humanitarian assistance.

94. It was estimated that peace-keeping operations over the next 12 months would cost US$ 3 billion. Although his country supported such operations, it believed that the Secretariat's peace-keeping functions should not be allowed to undermine other areas of activity. The pressures brought to bear on the

(Mr. Nyamikeh, Ghana)

United Nations in the event of new conflicts should not provide a pretext for intervention. Respect for the sovereignty of States and the principle of consent of the parties involved should remain the basis for any peace-keeping operation.

95. With regard to resources, the prompt and full payment of assessed contributions was indispensable. Another important issue in the area of peace-keeping was the protection of personnel, and his country accordingly supported the draft resolution contained in document A/SPC/47/L.8. Involved in peace-keeping operations since 1960, Ghana had always discharged its responsibilities diligently, even in difficult economic circumstances, and would continue to do so.

96. Mr. YATTARA (Mali) deplored the ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts which threatened international peace and security and had led to a proliferation of peace-keeping operations. His country commended the report of the Committee and believed that implementation of all the proposals would require cooperation on the part of all countries. It also welcomed the creation of the new Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

97. His delegation shared the view, expressed by many others, that peace-keeping operations, in view of their geometric progression and the enormity of the resources consumed, represented only a transitional stage of the search for peace. In that connection, it supported the Secretary-General's proposals, in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", concerning mechanisms for the prevention and management of conflicts.

98. Additionally, he recalled that a decision had been taken at the last meeting held at Dakar, of the Heads of State and Government of members of the Organization of African Unity to establish a mechanism for the prevention, management and solution of conflicts in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

99. In conclusion, he affirmed that international peace and security could be assured only through greater international solidarity, which was the only means to end the multiple conflicts and tensions threatening the current equilibrium.

100. Mr. MARTINEZ CORDOVES (Cuba) noted that, in addition to the unprecedented increase in the number of peace-keeping operations, problems relating to the financing of such operations had taken on a new dimension. Various financial formulas had been suggested for the solution of those problems: some seemed appropriate, while others, in the view of his delegation, constituted a departure from the norms and principles of management which prevailed and should continue to prevail in the United Nations.

101. With regard to the Secretary-General's agenda for peace, which was the subject of an additional meeting of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, he noted the indication in the Committee's report (A/47/386) that

(Mr. Martinez Cordoves, Cuba)

widely differing views had been expressed during the discussions on the concepts applied by the Secretary-General and on the operational and financial mechanisms which he proposed. A similar difference of opinions emerged during discussions of agenda item 10 in the plenary meetings of the General Assembly at its current session. Those differences had led to the establishment of an open-ended Working Group, which would coordinate consideration of the agenda for peace.

102. It must be remembered that the principles set forth in Article 2 of the Charter constituted and must continue to constitute the conrnerstone of United Nations action. Full preservation of the sovereignty of Member States and non-interference in their internal affairs were inviolable principles which could not be questioned in any mechanism to be imposed on Members of the United Nations. The Organization had recently lost much of the sense of balance which should govern its activities. The predominance of the great Powers meant that the role assigned to third world countries was becoming increasingly marginal, and there was a risk that the operational mechanisms now being created would allow those great Powers to exploit the United Nations yet further as an instrument for their political objectives.

103. The use of limited sovereignty as a guiding concept, the idea of imposing certain political and economic models on a world-wide scale and the preponderant influence of certain permanent members of the Security Council made it doubtful that the mechanisms proposed in the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" could be applied impartially, fairly and equitably under current conditions of political and military unipolarity. The recommendations contained in the document should therefore be addressed with caution and be adopted only after a responsible, intelligent and careful examination of all their possible implications, in the light of current political trends.

104. There were also flaws in the proposed revisions to many different programmes of the United Nations medium-term plan. For example, programme 1 of the plan included concepts appearing in the document entitled "An Agenda for Peace", affecting not only the title of the programme itself but also its structure and the priorities of the subprogrammes, ignoring the fact that the document was simply a proposal by the Secretary-General and therefore could not legally be taken as a legislative mandate for any activity under the medium-term plan. He was also concerned by the references in subprogramme 3 of programme 1 to "threats to peace", "conflict areas", "disputes" or "developments related to peace and security", omitting the adjective "international". In a similar vein, he agreed with the representative of Colombia that subprogramme 4 of programme 4 was not the responsibility of the Special Political Committee.

105. The problems of financing peace-keeping operations had also been extensively addressed during the discussions. The proposals put forward should be carefully examined, but the idea of charging interest on arrears or of taking out commercial loans from banking institutions must be rejected. Neither should changes be made in the current special scale of contributions for peace-keeping operations.

(Mr. Martinez Cordoves, Cuba)

106. His delegation had on repeated occasions expressed its growing interest in peace-keeping operations and intended to become a member, at the appropriate time, of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and to provide personnel for ongoing operations. Unfortunately, it had so far not been considered appropriate to allow Cuba to make its contribution. He was confident that the reasons were purely bureaucratic and that there was no deliberate wish to diminish the universality which should govern the establishment and functioning of peace-keeping operations.

107. Ms. DAPUL (Philippines) commended the unceasing labours of those responsible for United Nations peace-keeping operations and paid tribute to those who had fallen in the service of peace. Given the proliferation of such operations and their conversion into multidimensional and complex undertakings, she attached great importance to the review of the question, as a basic component of the Organization's efforts to strengthen and increase its efficiency in terms of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building.

108. She welcomed the report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", which sought to bring the United Nations back to its roots as an organization with an effective capacity to make and to keep the peace. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which her country was a member, had presented ideas and proposals to the open-ended Working Group studying the document, which constituted a mechanism for coordination between the General Assembly, its Committees and the Security Council.

109. Her country, which was contributing troops to the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), was convinced that peace-keeping complemented peacemaking. The latter was based on the concept and practice of the peaceful settlement of disputes, a principle to which the Philippines adhered and which had been enshrined in the Manila Declaration.

110. She was aware of the destructive warfare in many countries where operations were deployed and expressed her deep concern for the security of personnel. She urged the countries and the parties to such conflicts to take all possible measures to ensure the security of personnel and expressed unequivocal support for the draft resolution on that subject.

111. Urgent action should be taken to close the gap between the Organization's capabilities and resources and the demands made upon it. The Philippines was making every effort to meet its obligations in that regard, despite its economic difficulties. It had also responded to the questionnaire on personnel and resources that could be used in peace-keeping operations, and was continuing to assess its possible contributions.

112. It was the collective responsibility of Member States to share the cost of peace-keeping operations. They must be called upon to pay their dues in full and on time, but at the same time a workable payment formula taking into

(Ms. Dapul, Philippines)

account their capacity to pay must be found, as must innovative approaches to financing. Priority should be given to setting up a system for funding the start-up phase of peace-keeping operations. Japan had made an interesting proposal to establish a start-up fund from surplus contributions.

113. The Philippines hoped that the creation of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations would result in better coordination and the establishment of a unified, integrated structure for the management of peace-keeping operations. Their management could be improved, as had been suggested, by the establishment of a round-the-clock operations centre for both operational and logistical matters. The Philippines welcomed Canada's proposal to sponsor the drafting of a logistics doctrine and standard logistical operating procedures combining civilian and military aspects.

114. It also supported the recommendation to institute proper procedures for providing additional personnel on a short-term basis so that the Secretariat could respond effectively during the planning and launching phases of new operations. Furthermore, it considered staff training to be essential, and supported the establishment of a training programme for key personnel of peace-keeping operations with a view to creating a pool of trained personnel with knowledge of the United Nations system and its working procedures.

115. The Philippines subscribed to the proposition that the easing of tensions and the early containment of conflict situations were the most efficient means of maintaining international peace and security. It supported the exercise of preventive diplomacy by the Secretary-General, the use of his mission of good offices, the sending of fact-finding missions, and the establishment of observation posts in areas where fighting was imminent, in order to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. It also supported the establishment of an early-warning system within the Department of Political Affairs, since preventive diplomacy required a monitoring mechanism complemented by a rapid-response capability, for which timely, accurate and unbiased information was a prerequisite. The system should be supported by a skilled staff and an adequate infrastructure, including access to the data and risk assessments that were in the hands of the specialized agencies and United Nations offices in the field.

116. The "Blue Helmets" personified hope for peoples ravaged by war, and the United Nations could not disappoint such hope for peace. The recommendations and decisions taken on peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace-building would affect and save lives and, under the circumstances, it was the least that could be done.

117. Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) said that the United Nations was at a crucial juncture in its mission to maintain international peace and security. Despite the end of the cold war, many regional conflicts persisted, and its peace-keeping functions had expanded to encompass entailed cease-fire supervision, election monitoring and humanitarian and human rights operations.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

118. The regulations governing the work of the peace-keeping forces had been flexible enough to satisfy existing needs. However, those regulations were not hard and fast, and circumstances now required that they be changed, a task that could be assigned to the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations.

119. Egypt welcomed the recommendations of the Special Committee with regard to financing, personnel and logistical support. It was unfortunate that the material resources required by the peace-keeping forces had not been made available with the degree of flexibility needed to keep pace with the proliferation of the operations.

120. The costs of peace-keeping operations were soaring and more than $800 million were outstanding. The United Nations had not been able to finance the operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which meant that certain troop-contributing States had had to bear the cost. Additional resources must therefore be provided.

121. The Secretary-General in his "Agenda for Peace" had put forward new ideas about using peace-keeping forces and giving regional organizations an enhanced role in keeping the peace and building trust among the parties to a conflict. The possibility of applying the recommendations he had made should be studied. The ideas expressed by the Secretary-General on the matter formed a whole and could not be treated separately or seen as distinct from the collective security of the United Nations. The informal working group could review all those questions.

122. Egypt attached great importance to peace-keeping operations, as evidenced by its participation in the current operations in Angola, Western Sahara, Cambodia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by its plan to send a contingent to Somalia in the next few days.

123. His delegation, aware that the conditions under which the United Nations were serving were becoming increasingly dangerous, believed that steps must be taken to protect them and accordingly supported draft resolution A/SPC/47/L.8, which it had sponsored. The Special Committee should continue to review the question in order to submit specific proposals on the matter to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

124. Egypt was a proponent of the restructuring of peace-keeping operations within the Secretariat, and hoped that the Secretary-General would further strengthen the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. Furthermore, Egypt welcomed the idea of establishing a peace-keeping fellowship programme and the offers by various countries to help train peace-keeping personnel, and it endorsed the Secretary-General's view that the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, so that all peoples could trust the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.